

COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION

CONTRASTED.

BY REV. CALVIN COLTON.

Orders for this pamphlet, containing remittances for the amount, and addressed to ROBERT B. DAVIDSON, 79 Dock St., Philadelphia, will be executed to any part of the United States.

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The Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society have passed the following resolution:—

“RESOLVED, that the thanks of this Committee be presented to the author of COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION CONTRASTED for this able and seasonable pamphlet, and that it be recommended to the friends of Colonization throughout the country, to promote its circulation, as one of the best and most efficient means of advancing the cause in which we are engaged.”

Of this pamphlet the Hon. Henry Clay says: “It is well designed, well executed, perspicuous, striking, and true.” The African Repository says: “It is a mass of testimony, all compact. We hope it will find its way to every fireside in the land.” The New York Com. Advertiser says: “We wish that every friend of Africa, and of her degraded children, would read it.”

COLONIZATION.

“THE object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, *with their own consent*, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.—2d Art. Con.

The objects of the friends of Colonization are:

I. To rescue the free coloured people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

II. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

III. To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

IV. To arrest and destroy the slave trade.

V. To afford slave owners, who wish or are willing to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception.

There are, doubtless, other objects entertained by some of the advocates of Colonization; but our aim is to represent comprehensively the principal and leading ones; and such as are recognised by all friends of the cause.

ABOLITION.

ABOLITION, according to the doctrines by which it is now sustained in this country, we think, is fairly represented as follows:—

I. It assumes, that to hold men in involuntary servitude, is in all cases a sin.

II. It elevates this principle, in application to slavery as it exists in this country, above the law of the land.

III. It denies not only the right, but the fact, of such a thing as what is commonly understood by slave property.

IV. It claims for those held in bondage, immediate emancipation.

V. It denies the claim to indemnification for such discharge.

VI. It maintains the lawfulness and inculcates the duty of using all possible endeavours to apply these principles for the liberation of American slaves.

VII. It repudiates all responsibility, as appertaining to itself, for any disastrous results that may flow from its action on these grounds.

VIII. It claims for all the descendants of the African race to be found in the country, an elevation to equal privileges with the white population, in all the relations of life.

IX. It opposes Colonization on the grounds, that it is a control over freedom; that the coloured people, born here, have as good title to all the advantages of the country as the whites; and that the rights of amalgamation are indispensable to the full scope of freedom, and to the greatest happiness of mankind.

There are, doubtless, some Abolitionists who do not profess to go, and who probably would not go, the length and breadth of all and each several of these propositions. It is fair, therefore, to allow to all such the advantage of their own position. We think, however, it will generally be allowed, in view of all that is before the public as evidence on these points, that our statement of this creed is substantially, if not in every particular specifically and exactly, correct.

In regard to the first rule, some, if not all, Abolitionists would doubtless admit, if they could long enough be blind to the consequence, that the involuntary servitude of minors and apprentices, and of other relations that might be specified, is a suitable regulation of society. But this admission would upset the principle of the rule, that it is in *all* cases a sin. This, nevertheless, is a doctrine of Abolitionists, though, doubtless, they mean to confine the application of the principle to one form of involuntary servitude.

In regard to the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th propositions, it will, perhaps, be sufficient to quote two or three sentences from Dr. Channing, to show that they have high authority: "I always hear with pain the doctrine, too common among lawyers, that property is the creature of the law. . . . I maintain that the slaveholder has no defence in the law, or in the opinion of the civilized world, for continuing to hold slaves. He is bound to free them, and to do so the sooner on account of their great value. . . . I utterly deny such a right (the right of indemnification) in a man who surrenders what is not his own. . . . The question of surrendering fugitive slaves seems to me to fall plainly, immediately, under the great primitive truths of morality. To send back the slave, is to treat the innocent as guilty; it is to enforce a criminal claim." In case of a servile insurrection, Dr. Channing says: "We ought to disarm them; but ought we to replace their chains?"

In regard to the 6th proposition, we are aware that the term "possible," as applicable to physical force, is disclaimed. In the first stages of the Abolition movement, the use of *politics*, as an instrument, was also disclaimed. Will those who understand the spirit of Abolition, trust it with physical force? In regard to the 7th proposition, Dr. Channing has a word or two on the point, not insignificant, and enough to make the ear tingle that hears them, if it is to be imagined they are a true prophecy: "I do not allow that human beings, God's rational and moral creatures, who cannot be held as property, without unutterable wrong, may still be retained as chattels, from apprehension of the evils which a restoration of their rights may bring on the State. . . . A mysterious, adorable Providence permits and controls massacre, war, and the rage of savage man, for the subversion of corrupt institutions, just as it purifies the tainted atmosphere by storms and lightnings!"* As there can be no mistake as to what this language applies, it is horrible indeed! The Jacobins of France were babes in know-

ledge, and women in bravery, as compared with such sentiments and such a drum-beat.*

As regards the 8th proposition, it is a text too often preached upon, not to be well understood, and a doctrine which, we suppose, will not be disclaimed in that quarter. Nor are we aware that the 9th will be objected to as an unfair statement, unless, perhaps, some Abolitionists would pause at amalgamation on the ground of *taste*. Nevertheless, it is commonly understood to be a leaven of the creed, and not without reason. We are willing that any Abolitionists should make such abatements from these comprehensive statements, and such qualifications, as may suit their views; though we think they will generally allow them to be correct. It is their own fault if they are unfair, as the public have received the impression from their own pulpits and their own publications.

MODERN ABOLITION, we believe, is historically a schism from Colonization, having originated in a disbelief of its tendency to abolish slavery. This disbelief is based on the following statements: First, that the scheme of Colonization is inadequate to effect any considerable reduction on a coloured population of two millions and a half, increasing at the rate of sixty thousand a year. And next, if it were adequate to this purpose, its operation would only increase the value of slaves, and present temptations to perpetuate slavery.

As Colonization leaves slavery just where the Federal compact leaves it, in the sovereignty of the slave States, and is content with its own declared objects, it is not incumbent upon it to dispose of this objection, which is based on the ground of its negative character, viz. that it does not do what it has neither professed nor engaged to do. Nevertheless, the objection may be answered independent of the influence of Colonization. First, that it is made on a false assumption; next, that it is made out of time; and, lastly, that it is made in view of only one of many causes more active than itself, and tending to supersede it.

1. The objection is made on a false assumption, viz. that a reduction of the coloured population of this country is necessary to the objects in view; whereas, it by no means follows. As many as are here now, are, perhaps, likely to remain, and a part of the increase; and they might find motives for staying, even if they were free to go. Nay, it is possible, and not unnatural, that a gradual increase on the present number, in the most prosperous and inviting state of the commonwealth of Liberia, after it shall have risen to an independent and powerful empire, and that even in the event of a universal emancipa-

* We have heard the following principle advocated by high authority:—That whatever be the cost of emancipation to slaveholders and their state of society, in wealth or life, it is just, and the greater number will be benefited by the change. It is sometimes stated in this form: The happiness of three is more important than of one; especially is it worthy of being sought, when the one will ordinarily have as good a chance as the three. It is of course understood, that the one will now and then be sacrificed. The results of such a change, as in St. Domingo, are not considered in this mode of reasoning; but it is assumed that the change, though effected by such means, will be a blessing to the party emancipated from one state of bondage to pass directly into another.

* Channing's remarks on the slavery question, in a letter to Jonathan Phillips, Esq.

tion, should yet remain on this continent. It is possible that the African colonies should be adequately fed, and the new republic well sustained by the three causes of immigration, natural increase, and incorporation of native tribes, without diminishing the coloured population of this country, or even checking the increase. Nevertheless, if a reduction should be desirable, there is not so much difficulty in that, as seems to be imagined.

2. For, the objection is made *out of time*. The past or present rate of emigration is no criterion for the future. When once the Commonwealth of Liberia is well established; when the free coloured people of this country shall be convinced by facts, that it offers them the best and only chance of rising to importance and equality in the social state, and an opportunity of acquiring wealth and distinction; and when the independent sovereignty of Liberia shall be acknowledged, and its national flag respected, we shall no longer have to go begging for the cause, but it will support itself. Then, as certainly as men are governed by motives to better their condition, so certainly will the descendants of Africans in this country flock in clouds to the land of their fathers, at their own expense, and for their own objects of ambition and personal aggrandizement. The same reasons which bring the depressed and oppressed Europeans to America; the same reasons which brought our fathers here, and made this country what it is; the same reasons which roll on our population towards the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, creating and adding new States to our Union, extending our empire and augmenting our wealth and importance as a nation, will attract and impel the coloured population of this country to Africa, and lead to similar results.*

3. This objection is made *in view of only one of many causes more active than itself and tending to supersede it*.

It may be observed, however, that this objection is a *theory*, and the following two *facts*, already established, effectually overthrow it: First, the fewer the slaves in any section of country, the greater is the disposition to emancipate. Secondly, the fewer there are of free coloured people, leads to the same result. The number of slaves in Maryland, in 1790, was 103,036; the number of free coloured people at the same time, was 8,042. In 1830, the slaves were 102,878; and the free coloured 52,942. In 1831, the legislature of Maryland made an appropriation of \$200,000, in ten annual instalments, for colonization. In eight years from that date, 1,867 were manumitted, most of whom were registered for colonization, and 286 emancipated the last of these years—thus demonstrating the increase of the *disposition*.

We find upon examination, that not less than \$2,500,000 have already been sacrificed by slave-

holders, as the free-will offerings of individuals, taking the aggregate of the average value of the slaves liberated, the outfits, and other endowments for emigration, and the numerous, in some instances magnificent, bequests to the cause of Colonization, which have been the accompaniments of these voluntary acts of manumission. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society alone reported in 1838, the offer of 130 slaves from different slaveholders, estimated at \$78,000, if that institution would be at the expense of sending them to Liberia. Every where in the slave States, the disposition to emancipate increases with the progress of Colonization.*

The very cause, therefore, on which this objection is founded, *disappears* in the actual operation of Colonization; and the facts are directly contrary to the theory.

But the more active causes which supersede it, are worthy of a passing notice. The Abolitionists say, and we will allow they believe, that the opinion of general society, that is, of the world, is rising and pouring in like a flood, to bear away slavery from the face of the earth. Well, then, they need not trouble themselves about the tendency of Colonization to perpetuate slavery, even if it were so. Their own convictions are an answer to their own argument.

Moreover, there is in fact more of pure, genuine, unalloyed Abolition in the South, than in the North; and nowhere else has it found such eloquent advocates as among slaveholders, themselves slaveholders. The South understands the subject; the North does not. The South is practical; the North deals in abstractions. Abolition in the South, is principle; in the North, it is faction. In the South, it has regard to public safety, and the good of all parties; in the North, it is revolutionary, and reckless of consequences. Abolition was moving over the South like the waves of the sea, till northern Abolition began its crusade. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee were in action, and the elements of southern society were at the task. But when northern Abolition stepped forth into a field not its own, all was hushed. The halls of southern legislation, instead of thundering with the call for emancipation, were crammed with bills for public safety and protection against foreign interference.

Such, briefly and comprehensively, are the well known facts; and, left to itself, the South would yet and again be stirred up, though, doubtless, at a later period, to its appropriate business of dealing with its own evils. The heaven is there, and cannot be ejected; and it seeks relief in the only channel now open to it—that of Colonization. It is a simple matter of fact, that Colonization, for want of means, cannot take what

* It is now ascertained, that 200,000 Africans are annually brought to America, and sold as slaves.—Could not the United States, by the benevolence and patriotism of its citizens, in connexion with a wise and politic appropriation from the public treasury, send back to Liberia 50,000 annually, if it should be judged best? Shall it be said, that such criminal and blood-stained cupidity so much outdoes the benevolence, humanity, and patriotism of the American people? The fact that so many Africans are brought *this way*, for such a purpose, is proof that an equal number could be *sent back*, if a proper spirit existed. But when once this enterprise is well going, it will support itself. From 60 to 70,000 persons have emigrated in one year from Great Britain and Ireland, *voluntarily*, to North America.

* These gifts of emancipation, (which are in fact a surrender of just so much property as the sale of these slaves would amount to), and the donations, endowments, and bequests which accompany them, are not, indeed, accredited in the usual way, as contributions to Colonization. They are unseen, and generally unobserved. Nevertheless, they are, in fact the most substantial supports of the cause, though the donors receive little credit for it. While the North is giving its fives, tens, and hundreds, the South, in this way, is yielding up its thousands, tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, to Colonization. There is literally and exactly all this difference between the two cases. The South *gives* the slave, and in addition to that, sustains its moiety of the burden of sending him to Africa. Many have given their all and impoverished themselves and their heirs—a sacrifice, we imagine, which is rarely to be found in northern charities.

the South urges upon it. Is this objection, therefore, valid?

But again: The high value of slave property in our southern States, results from the production of two or three staples, and the moment a successful competition shall arise in other quarters, it will be a burden.

The amount of cotton raised in the whole world is estimated at *ten hundred millions* of pounds, of which 550 millions is the product of our slave States. In 1791, those States produced only 2,000,000 lbs.; in 1801, it was 40,000,000; in 1811, it was 80,000,000; in 1821, it was 170,000,000; in 1826, it was 348,250,000; now it is 550,000,000. In Texas, cotton can be raised with half the labour; and labour can be got for half the price, as the slave trade is open to that country—both of which considerations give an advantage of 200 per cent. to Texas over the southern States in this competition. A slave can be bought there for \$500 dollars, who would cost \$1000 at New Orleans. The effect of this is obvious, and must very soon be felt. Great Britain, too, that now gives annually a market for 320 to 350,000,000 of pounds of cotton produced by the slave labour of the United States, is preparing to obtain it from her own dominions in the East, and it is understood she can do it. Western Asia now produces 190,000,000 lbs. of cotton annually; South America, including Mexico, 65,000,000; Egypt, 27,000,000; the West Indies, 8,000,000; and West Africa itself produces 36,000,000, nearly as much as our slave States in 1801. The same may be said of the other great staples of our southern States. A competition is fast rising in other quarters, where climate and soil are better adapted, and labour is vastly cheaper. Africa itself and alone—in the application of that system which is now attracting so much attention in Great Britain, in the hands of Mr. Buxton as leader, and which was first opened by the American Colonization Society*—is able, by her population and natural capabilities, to raise a competition in all the products of the labour of her children in foreign bondage, which, by motives of interest only, with the parties concerned, will be sufficient to break their chains, and open the way for their return. As this is the natural order, so we have reason to believe that it is the great plan, of Providence—to make Africa the instrument of her own redemption.

* History will doubtless record the fact, that the true theory of African Colonization, as a scheme of benevolence, originated in America. There is an essential difference between the British and American plans. The former, so far as appears, proposes to hold these establishments as British colonies, with a dominant English population; whereas, the latter aims to rear them to national independence under a pure African regime, in which the white man is not to be admitted to the rights of citizenship. He can only be a resident for specific and temporary purposes. This is a fundamental principle of the constitution of Liberia, and one of distinctive, vital importance to the great end of elevating and ennobling the African race, by a social regeneration. Any thing short of this, we apprehend, will be a failure, so far as respects the highest aim, in a thorough regeneration of that people; and it is to be hoped, that our British brethren will yet adapt their operations to this radical and important point. Mr. Buxton is doubtless right in combining political and commercial objects in his plan, in order to secure public interest and patronage; and such, hereafter, is likely to be the character of our own endeavours; but this need not vitiate or weaken the fundamental principle of making the Africans a distinct and sovereign people. It is gratifying to learn, by letters just received in this country from Mr. Buxton, that a public movement has already been made in London towards the planting of new colonies in Africa. God speed them!

"When we reflect, that the accomplishment of this design in the only feasible mode—viz. under the plan of our association—contemplates their restoration to their long-lost home, with the habits and the institutions of our own favoured land, prepared to propagate the blessings of Christianity and the arts of civilization, we may dare, without profanely attempting to search out the secrets of the Most High, to flatter ourselves, that we discern in its realization, the wisdom and end of that appointment, by which they were originally brought to our shores. What a mysterious and holy sanction—what a lofty, encouragement does not this consideration impart to our enterprise? Our own benevolence thus expiates the wrongs of others, and Africa is redeemed from her savage thralldom by the religion, the sciences, and the arts, which her reclaimed sons have brought with them from the land of their captivity."—(Mr. A. Rice of Virginia.)

It is manifest, therefore, that there are numerous, active, and powerful causes involved in the career of a high and mysterious Providence, operating in the world, and pervading that region of our own society where slavery exists, which can but supersede entirely any such influence of Colonization as has been objected to, allowing it to exist in given circumstances. Colonization has one object—the civilization of Africa by a draft on the free coloured population of this country, and on such as may be made free for that purpose, for the good of the whole race; and is only responsible, in the prosecution of this object, for not doing violence to any existing frame of society. It would be equally pertinent, and equally forcible, to find fault with Bible, Missionary, Temperance, and other societies, because they do not go for Abolition, as to find fault with Colonization for the same reason.

Moreover, this great objection, that Colonization tends to confirm and perpetuate slavery, which has so long been wielded with some effect as a *theory*, may now, in the progress of events and in view of the practical operation of the two systems, be turned with unanswerable force against those who have hitherto so much affected to triumph in its use. For it is established beyond controversy, that Colonization increases the disposition to emancipate, while Abolition* bars the door to this object, and rivets the chains of slavery, with a hundred-fold power.

In the event of a prosperous republic in Africa, a new spectacle will be presented to the eye of man; a new page and a new era will have been opened in history; and its influence on this country, and on the world, cannot now be conceived. It is the vulgar arithmetic of vulgar, narrow, and short-sighted minds, darkened by ignorance and swayed by sentiment, which embarrasses this question, and leads to erroneous conclusions. They seem alike incapable of comprehending and appreciating the gradual and sublime march of society, in the natural channels and legitimate stages of improvement, and would fain torture its action by the application of force, to its great peril, if not to its death, and expose it to inconceivable disaster.

Colonization has already done more than was ever dreamt of, and opened new and brighter

* Although we have assayed to develop the character of Abolition in the propositions on our first page, we have neglected to give a *definition*. Abolition, in its present state, is a totally, radically, and essentially different thing from *Emancipation* in the sense attached to the latter before this agitation commenced, and is now identified with what is commonly, and we think justly, regarded as an improper and unconstitutional interference of a combination of people in the free States, with the domestic condition and institutions of the slave States. As such, it is shorn of the honours, both of a humane and patriotic enterprise, and merged in the responsibilities of a POLITICAL MISDEMEANOR.

prospects on the destinies of the African race. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—than whom a more sagacious body is not to be found in the world—say, in their Report for 1839: "It would seem to be our wisest course to *assume the permanence* of these Colonies, (Liberian,) and their future *ascendancy* over the native tribes, as *unquestionable facts*, and to frame our measures accordingly." In the progress of events, a wider scope has been opened to the aspirations, and higher motives have grown up in the prospects, of African Colonization. It is the crown of empire that now hangs suspended among the celestial signs of that region of the globe. But they who hold in their hands such blessings for a distant region and for another continent, have also committed to their charge the wand of peace at home, to be swayed in a stormy and threatening hour. As if the prescience of Divinity had fortified the scheme—and we verily believe it did—nothing could be better adapted as a healing power for such a breach, or the soother of such an agitation.

"The scheme of Colonization, by satisfying the prudent and well-directed benevolence of all the sound-hearted among our brethren at the North, furnishes, both there and here, the most harmonizing incentives to a fraternal co-operation, and the strongest moral bulwark against the exasperating designs of Abolition."—*Mr. Rives.*

THE TRUE WAY.

It is evident that the public conscience of all that portion of the Christian world, which must be held responsible for the largest share of injury that has been done to the African race, is affected with compunction, and disposed to make reparation. The great practical question is—how best it can be done! It is certain, that in past attempts of this kind, great mistakes have been made, both in opinion and practice. Over the wide field of these operations, we rarely find the African in a condition to satisfy the best wishes. All experiments of emancipation that have left him on the soil and in the same society where he had been held in bondage, have hitherto failed to elevate him essentially in character or condition. This, doubtless, is the fault of the race, which, in such circumstances, stands opposed to his highest and best interests. Whether, indeed, these obstacles are insuperable beyond hope of being removed, is not material in this argument, so long as they are in fact so formidable. Any plan for the improvement of the coloured people, which has to conflict with the interests, prejudices, and tastes of the descendants of Europeans, in the same country and society, must necessarily be in a great degree discouraging, from the fact that, as a general rule, men are governed by their interests, swayed by their prejudices, and influenced by their tastes. So long as the great majority of mankind cannot be credited for a disinterested and truly Christian regard to the claims of social right, and so long as the *preaching* of Abolition, carries not with it the mandate of civil authority and the means of physical coercion, it is probable, that the claims of the African race to a full equality of social privilege with a people so distinct, and apparently superior, will be disappointed. We rejoice for all that has been done, and shall rejoice for all that may yet be done, for the improvement and elevation of the coloured people in such circumstances. Still, in view of all history of this kind, and as sincere well-wishers to that portion of the human family, we are forced to the following conclusion:—

That the GREAT SECRET of all the disappointments that have resulted from these endeavours, and of the discouragements which ordinarily accompany them, however well intended, or well planned, or vigorously prosecuted, will probably be found in the utter impossibility of elevating the African race, to the satisfaction of benevolence, while they remain in juxtaposition and in the same society with the descendants of Europeans, and so

long as they are denied the prospects of independent empire in a state of civilization.

Whether the African is naturally inferior to the European, is a question which we think unnecessary, unbecoming, and inglorious to discuss; certainly so, to maintain it in the affirmative, under all the disadvantages of his position. It will undoubtedly be admitted, that we have given him as much credit in such conspurison, in our opening remarks, as either himself or anybody else could claim. His long-depressed and inferior condition is sufficient, from moral causes, to account for his present actual inferiority of intellect and moral force. We think there is no good reason to despair of his rising to a respectable rank in the social state, when once a fair chance shall be afforded him, under the advantages of civilization, and in a condition where he shall not have to encounter the checks and hindrances of a rivalry with that race which has so long been above him, and which possesses a moral superiority, accidentally derived, that has hitherto awed and kept him down. An impediment of this description is no less insuperable than a physical obstacle; and they who have to contend with it, are doomed to a like disadvantage.*

In view of these facts, it can hardly be denied—it is even a wonder that any should deny—that Colonization opens a most cheering prospect for this race. It has a higher, a nobler aim than to meddle with the domestic condition of our own country. In pity to the African *here*, and to the African *there*, and despairing of any other adequate and effectual relief for either, it has opened to the world one of the kindest, and one of the most magnificent schemes, that ever was devised—a scheme which stands approved and attracts admiration by the proof of experiment, and emits additional rays, even floods of hope, as it advances. It comprehends within the range of its benevolent designs the continent of Africa, with all her children, at home, or far away. It professes, in the first place, to remove the free coloured people of this country, *with their own consent*, to the land of their fathers, where they shall be exempt from the rivalry of the white man; to establish them in an independent empire of their own; to endow them with the blessings of civilization and of Christianity; to invite and call into action all their powers as men; to inspire them with all laudable motives of ambition;

* It must be evident to all, that such is the condition of the free coloured people of this country. We speak not of what *ought* to be, but of what *is*, and is likely to be. A stifling, strangling incubus seems to rest upon all their faculties. Rarely is there to be found a man of wealth among them; few possessed of comfort; the great mass are poor and wretched; and depravity, vice, and crime find a home among them. In Virginia there are 38,000 free blacks, and only 200 owners of land. As to the comparative state of morals among them, it is ascertained to be fearfully below that of slaves and of the whites. In Massachusetts, where the coloured population is less than 7,000—about one seventy-fourth of the whole—one-sixth part of the convicts in the State prisons are blacks. In Connecticut, the coloured population is one thirty-fourth of the whole, and the proportion of convicts one-third. In New York city, the proportions are one thirty-fourth of the population, and one-fourth of the convicts. In New Jersey, one-thirteenth of population, and one-third of convicts. In Pennsylvania, one thirty-fourth, and one-third. The average number of convicts in Virginia is *one* in every 16,000 of the whites; *one* in every 22,000 of the slaves; and *one* in every 5,000 of free blacks. In South Carolina, the white population is 265,000, of whom 27,000 are communicants in different churches; the slave population is 315,000, of whom 40,000 are communicants. A coloured clergyman of Philadelphia, native of Charleston, South Carolina, wrote a feeling letter, dated March 6th, 1839, to a statesman of that city, of high standing in the nation, imploring an alteration in the laws of that State, that would admit him and other natives to return, as they were sorely disappointed at the North. He says, "Very few of us are comfortable, and most of us are anxious to return home. I am free to say, that not one of us who left Charleston with high expectations, but has entirely failed. . . . The native Carolinian (coloured) does not find happiness in these cold regions, where prejudice against the coloured complexion reigns triumphant."

to excite in them personal aspiration and the pride of national character; to rear them to the growth of national sovereignty; to extend their jurisdiction indefinitely by the incorporation of the native tribes; to prepare them for the reception of such emigrants as may be disposed to flock from this country, when their prosperity shall be secured beyond any probable impediment; to annihilate the slave trade; to develop the physical capabilities of the African Continent; to establish such relations between the United States and Africa, as may promise to be of importance for political and commercial purposes, and to the mutual advantage of both parties; to make the African a man, to respect himself and be respected as a peer among his fellow-men; to secure to him all those rights which are claimed and enjoyed by the most civilized and free States; to convert the wide regions of African barbarism, heathenism, cruelty, and desolation, into a garden of civilization, and to make it an eminent portion of Christendom; to substitute the songs of freedom and of true religion, for the groans of the slave and the despairing cries of the victims of superstition; and finally, as we hope, to save our own country from that wreck, into which the Abolition crusade of the North would plunge us, by enforcing a collision with the constitutional rights of the South. An effort that aims to redeem one continent, and to save another, with the faintest prospects of contributing to these sublime results, is worthy of all honour. Already can we announce an advanced stage toward the achievement of these ends; already, the world looks with admiring approbation on the scene. The blow which has recently been given to the slave trade at Little Bassa by the arm of Governor Buchanan and his heroic band, is enough to immortalize the expedition, and to rouse all Christendom to strengthen and encourage those colonies in their noble deeds.

MR. BUXTON'S DISCOVERY.

It seems likely that public attention, both in Great Britain and in the United States, is about to be directed more than ever to the importance of introducing civilization around the entire coast and in the heart of Africa, as far as practicable, and as fast as possible, as the only means of accomplishing the abolition of the slave trade. It is a favourable and hopeful event, that Thomas Fowell Buxton, the Wilbeforce of the age, has become wise on this subject. He seems to have established incontrovertibly, in his late work on the *Slave Trade*, that the whole system hitherto pursued for its suppression, is radically and fundamentally at fault for the attainment of the end; and that it has only increased the amount, and immeasurably aggravated the horrors, of the traffic.

The argument may be expressed as follows:—Mr. Buxton assumes the axiom of the Custom-house, that no trade can be suppressed by authority, where the profits exceed 30 per cent., and shows that the profits of the slave trade are more than *five times* that amount, after deducting all the risks, losses, and forfeitures occasioned by the action of law against it. Consequently, the risks will be encountered, and the market supplied; and the means adopted for the evasion of law, and of public vessels engaged for the suppression of the trade, lead to the most astounding inhumanities and sacrifice of human life. The profits are abundant, if the lives of *one-half* of the victims crammed on board these vessels are saved! And

the sacrifice is often greater than this! * Moreover, it appears, that there is no good faith among the authorities acting under the powers engaged for the suppression of this traffic, nor among the powers themselves, as a general rule, so far as this matter is concerned; so that the violators of the law are protected in the deed, and are accustomed to purchase immunity for their crimes of those very authorities whose business it is to bring them to punishment! No nation, Great Britain excepted, is faithful to this engagement.

And, strange as it may seem, this trade is rendered more active, and the demand for slaves increased, not only by the operation of the law for its suppression, but by the Emancipation Act for the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies! It was by slave traders foreseen, and the anticipated fact practically acted upon, that the failure of the emancipated negroes of the British West Indies to work, would induce a failure of the staple exports of those islands; consequently, that the deficit in this quarter must be supplied from slave labour in other quarters; and, consequently, that a great increase of slaves from Africa would be required above former demands! And thus the British Emancipation Act itself has greatly augmented the slave trade!

Mr. Buxton declares the opinion, that the union of all nations, in good faith, even if it could be obtained, for the suppression of this trade, on the present system, would be unavailing, and only increase the evil. He says:—

"It has been proved by documents which cannot be controverted, that for every cargo of slaves shipped towards the end of the last century, two cargoes, or twice the numbers in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic; and that the cruelties and horrors of the traffic have been increased and aggravated by the very efforts we have made for its abolition. Each individual has more to endure; aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers. At the time I am writing, there are at least *twenty thousand human beings* on the Atlantic, exposed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage... I am driven to the sorrowful conviction, that the year from September, 1837, to September 1838, is distinguished beyond all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes of human life."

It is remarkable, that this increased activity of the trade should occur on the eve of the emancipation in the British West Indies. In coincidence

* *The Result of Mr. Buxton's investigations respecting the Slave Trade.* Fifty years ago the Christian (?) slave trade was 80,000 annually; now 200,000! Mohammedan slave trade, 50,000 annually. The aggregate loss of life, in the Christian trade, in the successive stages of seizure, march, detention, middle passage, after landing, and seasoning, is 145 per cent. or 1450 for every 1000 available for use in the end; and 100 per cent. loss of life, by the same causes, in the Mohammedan trade; consequently the annual victims of Christian slave trade, are 375,000; of the Mohammedan, 100,000. Total loss to Africa 475,000 annually: or 23,750,000 in half a century at the same rate!!! (It is reasonable to suppose, that Africa has already lost, in the last 200 years, 30,000,000 of her population in this way!)

A slave ship, named *JEHOVAH*. (!!!) made three voyages between Brazil and Angola in 13 months of 1836-7, and landed 700 slaves the first voyage; 600 the second; and 520 the third—in all, 1820!!!

(The single town of Liverpool (England) realized in this traffic, before its abolition in that empire, a nett profit of more than \$100,000,000!—*History of Liverpool*.)

with this fact, the London Quarterly Review for March, 1839, has the following declaration: "The slave emancipation act has given an extraordinary impulse to the slave trade, and weakened the hopes of seeing it crushed; and should the production of sugar in the West Indies give way, the mischief must be far greater; and our emancipation will rank, next to Las Casas' origination of the slave trade, as the greatest calamity ever inflicted on humanity. It may fail suddenly; at best, its success is problematical." It happens, unfortunately, that the production of sugar in the British West Indies is "giving way" rapidly.

But to Mr. Buxton: "Our present system has not failed by mischance, from want of energy, or from want of expenditure;* *but the system itself is erroneous, and must necessarily be attended with disappointment.* We will suppose all nations shall have acceded to the Spanish treaty, and that treaty shall have been rendered more effective; that they shall have linked to it the article of piracy; that the whole shall have been clenched by the cordial concurrence of the authorities at home, and of the populace in the colonies; with all this, we shall be once more defeated and baffled by a contraband trade. The power which will overcome our efforts, *is the extraordinary profits of the slave trader.* But we shall never get the consent of the powers to the Spanish treaty. This confederacy must be *universally binding*, or it is of no avail. It will avail us little, that ninety-nine doors are closed, if one remains open. To that single outlet, the whole slave trade of Africa will rush."

Mr. Buxton again supposes that all nations shall have decreed the slave trade piracy; it would still be necessary to make that piracy punishable with *death*—a measure, he thinks, too strong to be hoped for. And even in that case, the severity of the law would only be the occasion of its being suffered to sleep by common consent, and aggravate the evil by its dormant terrors, as is the case with the law as it now exists, and in a thousand-fold excess. Thus half a century more might be wasted in fruitless treaty, and in that time more than *eleven millions* of Africans carried into hopeless captivity, at the present annual rate of the traffic, and an equal number of lives destroyed; and, after all, we should be no nearer the end in view, than at this moment.

MR. BUXTON'S REMEDY.

"Our system hitherto has been to obtain the co-operation of European powers, [he resigns all hope of gaining that of the United States!] while we have paid very little attention to what might be done *in Africa herself*, for the suppression of the slave trade. To me it appears, that the *converse* of this policy would have offered greater probabilities of success; that while no reasonable expectations can be entertained of overturning this gigantic evil through the agency and with the concurrence of the civilized world, there is a well founded hope, *amounting to almost a certainty*, that this object may be attained through the medium, and by the concurrence of Africa herself."

Mr. Buxton goes on to show, by numerous and the best authorities, and by an overwhelming accumulation of facts—which we have no room to quote—that Africa is the most inviting field in the world, with which to form commercial relations and intercourse. "Africa and Great Bri-

tain," he says, "stand in this relation to each other: *Each possesses what the other requires; and each requires what the other possesses.*" He brings to view the exuberance of her soil and the exhaustless wealth of her mineral treasures; the spontaneous, rich, bounteous productions, and the everlasting verdure, of her tropical regions; her fifteen thousand miles of seaboard, all accessible; her numerous and noble rivers, which nature has formed for the commercial uses of civilized intercourse; the fondness of the natives for traffic; and how easily they might be made to see the greater profit of man as a labourer, than as an article of trade; that the latter is a positive and irreparable loss, apart from the crime, and the former a gain of inestimable value. In a word, Mr. Buxton proposes to make Africa the school of her own education, and the field of her own victory over the nations that have so long oppressed her, by imposing upon her, through the channels of lawful commercial transactions and the facilities they afford, the blessings of civilization and the morality of Christianity. "I firmly believe," says he, "that Africa has *within herself* the means and the endowments which might enable her to shake off and to emerge from her load of misery, to the benefit of the whole civilized world, and to the unspeakable improvement of her own now barbarous population. It is earnestly to be desired, that all Christian powers should unite in one great confederacy for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies of so great a people.† A legitimate commerce with Africa *would put down the slave trade*, by demonstrating the superior value of man as a labourer on the soil, to man as an object of merchandise. Great Britain and other countries have an interest in the question only inferior to Africa itself; and if we cannot be persuaded to suppress the slave trade *for the fear of God, or in pity to man, it ought to be done for the lucre of gain.*"

Here, then, is an Abolitionist that has come to his senses, and at last discovered that it is vain only to *preach* to such a world as this that the slave trade is wrong; and that the *interests* of mankind must be considered in any plan to suppress so great, wide-spread, and complicated an evil. Sixty years the Wilberforce school had been labouring in this cause on the ground of *sentiment*, and had thought to awe the offenders by the terrors of authority. Now, one of that school, himself the chieftain, elect and undisputed, by a single blow upsets the labours of more than half a century, and pronounces them mischievous and ruinous; that they have never done any good; that they have done only evil!

It is not too much to say, that this is a *great* discovery, and one of practical, momentous consequence; and it evinces equally a rare honesty and a signal sagacity; for it was a conflict with the whole drift of his former sentiments, and a conversion, the announcement of which must necessarily astound the world of his former adherents, and might, peradventure, dislodge him forever from that eminent position which he occupied at the head of British and American Abolitionists. Having once broken loose from the mazes in which he had been perplexed—or, more properly, perhaps, having attained to the *maturity* of his honest research—and stepped forth into light, and under a clear heaven, he sees by intuition the only practicable remedy; confesses to the principles, and plants his foot at once on the ground, of the American Colonization Society!

* They have expended \$50,000,000 in this effort.

† 100,000,000.

COLONIZATION AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

PREVIOUS to the establishment of the colony of Liberia, more than 2,000 slaves were annually exported from the two points of Cape Mount and Mesurado; and in 1834, before Bassa Cove was purchased, 500 slaves were shipped from that point in one month. This had always been the centre of an extensive and active slave trade. In 1836, Governor Buchanan concluded a treaty with seven head men of the natives in the vicinity of Bassa Cove, signing themselves by their marks. (†) William Jumbo, Bottle Beer, Jack Freeman, Jim Dor, Tom Toby, Grando, and New Jumbo, pledging subjection to the laws of Liberia, they being within its jurisdiction, and making the slave trade among them punishable with death. We find the following proclamation on this subject, in 1839:

"Whereas, the laws and constitution of this Commonwealth forbid any intercourse of any kind or nature whatsoever, between its citizens and persons engaged in the slave trade; and whereas, every act of aiding and abetting, and all intercourse tending to countenance the traffic in slaves, is made felony by the laws: Therefore, be it known, that all laws and enactments, and ordinances of the Commonwealth, in relation to the slave trade, will be most rigidly enforced upon every person who may be found guilty of violating them. All persons, therefore, are admonished to abstain from aiding or abetting the slave trade, and from all intercourse with persons engaged in that traffic. The officers of the Commonwealth, civil and military, and all good citizens, are expected and called upon to support the dignity and authority of the laws, and assist in enforcing a prompt obedience to them.

"Given at Monrovia, this fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine. THOMAS BUCHANAN, Governor."

On the 13th of August, 1839, the governor writes that he had just returned from an expedition, with an armed force, military and naval, to Little Bassa, where he had broken up a slave station, burned down the factories, recovered four captives, forced King Bah-Gay and Prince into a treaty, like the one noticed above, at the expense of one native mortally wounded on his side, and ten killed and twenty wounded on the other, according to their own confessions. The governor's despatches were forwarded by the Euphrates, an American slaver, captured by the British brig *Harlequin*, Capt. Sir Francis Russell, and consigned to Governor Buchanan, for adjudication in the United States. This vessel was employed by the governor in this expedition, and thus made the instrument of suppressing the traffic in which she had been engaged.

The Commonwealth of Liberia extends its jurisdiction along 300 miles of coast, and back into the interior from ten to forty miles—having the pledge of subjection by treaty (regarded as a privilege) of numerous surrounding tribes, in the names of their head men—and is allowed to have suppressed the slave trade, principally, to the extent of 700 miles on the coast. When, therefore, we consider the facts relating to the former slave trade of Bassa Cove, Mesurado, and Cape Mount; that the whole region of Liberia was little else than a storehouse and outlet of slaves; that the slave station, at the Gallinas, on the northern border of Liberia, still exports 4,000 annually; and that the slave trade was never more active than now, carrying off 200,000 a year; it is reasonable to suppose, and seems unavoidable to conclude, if Liberia had not been occupied as it now is, it would at this moment supply from 15 to 20,000 slaves annually for the western world. Taking into account, therefore, the number annually emancipated in the United States for Liberia, and the number actually kept back from slavery, by its power and influence, that commonwealth presents a cheering oasis in the midst of surrounding desolation, and may well satisfy the friends of Colonization, that the smiles of heaven are on the work of their hands, for the present good, and the animating prospects of Africa and her children. Say, that the suppression of the slave trade on this coast of 700 miles, has only added so much more to other quarters, it is enough for our purpose that this great fact is established. Go on, Mr. Buxton! Go on, Great Britain! Go on, ye friends of Colonization in America! Go on, the world! and the work will soon be done! The American Colonization Society has lighted up the path, as pioneer in this great enterprise; and Great Britain, with Thomas Fowell Buxton, leader, shows

symptoms of coming to our aid. Thanks to heaven for the token!

SUCCESS OF OUR AFRICAN COLONIES.

THE following brief sketch of the first settlements of our own country, will show how much more prosperous have been the colonies of Liberia:—Nearly one-half the first Plymouth emigrants died in the course of four months, and at the end of ten years they had only 300. The first three attempts to plant a colony in Virginia failed; and in six months ninety of the 100 settlers who landed at Jamestown, perished. Subsequently, in an equal period, they were reduced from 500 to 60; and after 9,000 people had been sent thither, only 1,800 survived. In the colony of North Carolina, twenty-six years after its first settlement, there were only 787 taxable inhabitants. At Iberville, Louisiana, of 2,500 colonists landed in thirteen years, only 400 survived. At New Orleans, they perished by hundreds. And yet, what a nation, what an empire, has arisen from these small beginnings!

In 1825 the population of Liberia, the fifth year of its history, was 400 souls. In 1833, there had been 3,123 immigrants, including 400 recaptured Africans; and the population was 2,916. In 1838, the immigrations, also including all the recaptured Africans to that date, had been somewhat less than 4,500; the actual population exceeded 5,000. We believe there is no other instance of colonization recorded in history, where the first settlers suffered so little of fatal casualty. There are now four Colonial Jurisdictions, under a new Federal Government organized in 1839; twelve flourishing towns, Monrovia, the metropolis of the commonwealth, having a population of 1500; there are four churches at Monrovia, two at New Georgia, two at Caldwell, two at Millsburg, two at Edina, three at Bassa Cove, two at Marshall, two at Cape Palmas, and one other—in all twenty; forty clergymen distributed among them, and several missionaries among the pagans within and without the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth, with their religious and educational establishments; the children and youth are generally well provided with schools; there are several public libraries, one of 1200 to 1500 vols.; a public press and two newspapers; a regularly constituted and well ordered government; a competent military; an increasing trade with Europe and America;—in short, a good degree of civilization and prosperity. "The militia," Governor Buchanan represents as "well organized, efficient, and enthusiastic;" and "the volunteer corps," he says, "would lose nothing by comparison with the city guards of Philadelphia." The morals of the people are spoken of by the governor as better than in any equal portion of the United States. "More than one-fifth of the population are communicants in their respective churches, and exemplary Christians"—a greater proportion, we presume, than can be found in any other part of Christendom. "As might be expected, where so large a portion of the people are pious, the general tone of society is religious. Nowhere is the Sabbath more strictly observed, or the places of worship better attended."

From January 7, 1826, to June 15, 1826, the nett profits on wood and ivory alone, passing through the hands of the settlers, were \$30,756. In 1829, we find the exports of African products to amount to \$60,000. In 1831, 46 vessels, 21 of which were American, visited the colony, and the exports were \$85,911. During the year ending May 1, 1832, 59 vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, and the exports of the same period were \$125,549. Imports \$80,000. Since this last date, seven years ago, we understand, the trade has greatly increased. The revenue from imports, at Monrovia, in 1836, was \$3,500. From twelve to fifteen vessels, of small tonnage, are owned by the colonists, and engaged in a coasting trade, though they have no flag to protect them.

The people of Liberia, in a circular letter addressed to their free coloured brethren of this country, after having declared in detail the reasons of their satisfaction with their new condition, and described their advantages, privileges, and hopes, add, "Judge, then, of the feelings with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced; and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what the society has accomplished; too weak to look through its plans and intentions; or too dishonest to acknowledge either." One would think that the Abolitionists of this country should be ashamed, rebuked as

they are by this independent and free people, in a tone of lofty and virtuous indignation, for their wicked opposition to such a cause. To be looked down upon from such a quarter, with feelings of pity and emotions of sorrow, and to be pronounced by such authority "too ignorant to know, too weak to discern, or too dishonest to acknowledge" the truth, ought to make any white man among us to whom the charge applies, blush at the view of his own position, think meanly of himself, and repent.

What, then, has Colonization done? It has laid the foundation of an empire in the Commonwealth of Liberia. *There it is*—on the coast of Africa, a little north of the Equator, in the central regions of African barbarism, and of the slave trade. *There* are four Colonies and twelve Christian settlements, dotting a coast of about 300 miles, extending their domain, by fair negotiation, back into the interior and along the Atlantic shore, the whole incorporated into a federal republic, after the model of our own, with like institutions, civil, literary, and religious, and composed of Africans and descendants of Africans, most of whom were emancipated from bondage in this country for the purpose, some of whom were recaptured from slave ships, and a small part of whom are adopted natives that have come in to join them. *There* is Christian civilization and the government of law; *there* is a civil jurisprudence and polity; *there* are courts and magistrates, judges and lawyers; *there* are numerous Christian churches, well supplied with ministers of the Gospel; *there* are schools, public libraries, and a respectable system of public education; *there* is a public press and two journals, one weekly, and one semi-monthly; *there* are rising towns and villages; *there* are the useful trades and mechanic arts, a productive agriculture and increasing commerce; in their harbours are to be found ships trading with Europe and America, and the exports are increasing from year to year; and all this the creation of somewhat less than twenty years—an achievement of which there is no parallel in history. Not one of the first settlements of our own country, at the north or south, ever accomplished so much in so short a time; not one of them that did not suffer more in its early history by sickness, and famine, and war, and other disasters incident to Colonization. In a word, they constitute the germ of a rising and prosperous, and peradventure, of a mighty empire. And though last, yet not least, they have done more for the suppression of the slave trade than Great Britain with her Spanish Treaty, and all the world put together. They have done *much* in this cause; they began the right way; while all else that has been done, by all the world, is literally worse than nothing. And *these* deeds are the product—the work of the American Colonization Society.

But what has Abolition done? It has agitated the country—that is beyond a question. But has it redeemed *one* slave? We have never heard of one. It may have enticed some away, and concealed fugitives, in violation of the laws of the land. We know that it has done this; and that this is one of the modes of its operation.

But what has Abolition done? It has uttered many hard words, called hard names, and excited much bad feeling. Has it made any advances towards persuading the slave states to abandon slavery? Let Judge Lynch answer the question. Has it united the North to join in the movement? Three-fourths, we imagine, perhaps more, have been forced by this agitation into a dead set against it. Has it inclined the ear of the public authorities of the nation to listen to its demands? Look at the doings of Congress in answer to Abolition petitions.

But what has it done? It has produced no small excitation in the religious world, and then jumped over the pale that divides the two, to stir up the political; it has made schism in the church and schism in the state; it has sent adrift Christian pastors who refused their creed, and gone earnestly to work to dislodge the legislators and magistrates of the land that stand in their way; it has cast a fire-brand on the floor of Congress, and reviled the Senators of the nation; it has done much to array the North against the South, and the South against the North; it has divided the nation, divided states, divided counties and election districts; divided towns, cities, villages, neighbourhoods, and families; separated friends and made them enemies.

But what has Abolition done? Has it ameliorated the condition of the slave? On the contrary, it has made fast his fetters, increased the vigilance and rigour of his discipline, abridged the means of his intellectual and moral improvement, and aggravated the severity of his bondage. Has it softened the temper of the slaveholder? On the contrary, it has hardened his heart, and barred the avenues to his conscience. Has it inclined him to listen to reason, and regard the voice of persuasion? He points to the bulwark of the national constitution, and says, "We know our rights;" and that is the end of argument.

Has Abolition relieved the condition of our free coloured people, secured them more advantages, or made them more happy? Those states which were before inclined to extend the franchise in favour of this race, are now inclined to abridge it, and Pennsylvania has actually done so. They had a sympathy before which they have not now; they are discontented and unhappy; they are made jealous of the whites, and the whites of them; they are not so good servants or citizens; the line of caste is more deeply drawn, and the barrier that separates the two races made higher and stronger; they are excluded from our schools and seminaries; and but for Abolition, we have good reason to say and believe, that all their privileges, social, civil, and political, would have been gradually extended, as their character should improve.

And where is the spirit of Abolition, in the old and pure sense of the term, which, a little while since, was fast reviving in the more northern of the slave states, and spreading over the South, growing up on the soil of slavery, and advocated with eloquent tongue by the slaveholder himself? Where are the Abolition strains of the Old Dominion, and of her foster child in the West, that

began to be heard in their legislative halls? Silenced—all silenced, since the Abolition movement of the North began to interfere with their concerns, and to demand what they were disposed to grant, while left to their own discretion and constitutional rights. They saw a storm of violence coming from the North, and a flood of revolution lifting up its waves to overwhelm them, and they turned and said, "We must take care of ourselves." Such are some of the fruits of modern Abolition.

SUMMARY CONTRAST.

COLONIZATION has done something. ABOLITION has done nothing but agitate.

COLONIZATION has founded an empire. ABOLITION has laboured hard to upset one.

COLONIZATION has redeemed some thousands of slaves, and set them up in an independent Commonwealth. ABOLITION has not redeemed one, but has rivetted the chains of those it professes to pity, and aggravated their bondage.

COLONIZATION interferes not with the political institutions of our own country, but acquiesces with the public authorities, and solicits their counsels and control. ABOLITION has set up an imperium in imperio, a State within the State,* to revolutionize the State, and made war on the national Constitution.

* QUERIES.

Since the American Anti-slavery Society has resolved itself into a political body—or which is the same thing, resolved to go into political action—the query must have presented itself to many minds, as to the *lawfulness* of their organization in relation to the federal Constitution. Are not the attributes and powers of this institution, as a political body, those of an independent State *within* a State—within the Republic? Is it not a State *machinery* for all the purposes requisite? Is it not perpetually *adding* to that machinery, as occasion requires? Where is the *limiting* or controlling power which it recognizes? Is not its business *purely* political, and the *appropriate* business of the confederacy and its members, according to the distribution or limitation of their respective powers as determined by the Constitution? What does it lack of a *provisional* political government except physical force? What prevents the assumption of this last resort at a convenient opportunity, or by *indirection* the mustering thereof? Is not the erection of such a permanent and independent organization, designed as it is to absorb as much of power and influence as it can, and *for such purposes*, an *anomaly*? Is it authorized, or is it forbidden, in the Constitution? The only rule that applies to the case, is the following:—"Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Has this Society, as *such*, petitioned the government, or formed any connexion with the government, which this law of the Constitution supposes? Does the government know of its existence, except by rumour? Does this law of the Constitution *imply* that the people may erect a *permanent* political organization independent of the government? Is slavery a grievance, personal or political, to the members of this Society? Is it *personal*? And how? Is it *political*, as being in their respective commonwealths, and entitling them to political action thereon, according to the terms and limitations of the federal compact? Which party is entitled to petition or remonstrance, under this law—the originators of this movement, or those on whom this movement operates? Does freedom of speech and of the press authorize the action of an unlawful organization in these forms? Does not the law which licenses *prescribed* forms of action for certain purposes, *prohibit* those having the same objects which are not licensed? Is not a licentious extension of the law by

COLONIZATION proposes a practicable good, on safe grounds, and is safe and good in every stage of progress. ABOLITION is necessarily bad till it has gained its end; and it is the end that sanctifies the means.

COLONIZATION is a comprehensive scheme of benevolence, embracing Africa with its tribes, as well as her children within our own bosom. ABOLITION may be very benevolent, but it has a queer way of showing it. It makes the free coloured people discontented and unhappy, and keeps far off from the slave.

COLONIZATION approaches the slaveholder, and reasons with him kindly. ABOLITION sends him abusive letters and pamphlets, but keeps away for fear of being lynched.

COLONIZATION presents to the free coloured man the strongest motives for rising in the world, by opening to him all the avenues to the highest conditions of society. ABOLITION makes promises, but always disappoints. It tells the coloured man he is equal, but dooms him to remain where he must be forever unequal and unhappy.

COLONIZATION has nothing to break down, but its task is to build up. ABOLITION's only task is to break down, and it strikes at high game—the political fabric of a nation.

COLONIZATION, in its history, is peaceful, in its labours, godlike, and it commends itself to all. ABOLITION starts on fight, lives by fight, and can succeed only in the midst of ruin.

COLONIZATION has laboured twenty years, and has nothing to repent of. ABOLITION, in its brief career, has done much to repent of, unless it can carry matters through by force; and then it will be too late to repent. ABOLITION in Great Britain, has laboured half a century, and has just discovered, that in one direction, at least, its labours are worse than lost; and with Buxton, a leader, is about to engage in Colonization.

COLONIZATION takes a field unoccupied, and therefore, has no rival to conflict with. ABOLITION sets out to occupy the place of the American Union, after dissolving it.

COLONIZATION has actually set up the standard of liberty, the lights of civilization, and the banner of Christianity, on the shores of Africa. ABOLITION has roused, nourished, and inflamed strife, religious and political, in the midst of our own republic, to the peril of its institutions.

As COLONIZATION advances, slave owners are more inclined to emancipate their slaves for

the people as criminal as an arbitrary abridgment thereof by the government? And is it not equally important that the law should not be *transcended*, as that it should be *maintained*? Where is the balance of influence against an unlawful political organization, except in setting up a counter organization of the same kind, or in the authority of government? Is it consistent with the exclusive jurisdiction of a State or nation, to admit upon its own territories an organized, political antagonist, of unlimited and irresponsible powers, making formidable and menacing demonstrations of influence? [For the suggestion of these queries we are indebted to a little work entitled *ABOLITION A SEDITION. By a Northern Man. Published by Geo. W. Donohue, Philadelphia.*]

emigration to Liberia. As ABOLITION advances, all its influence is against emancipation, and puts far off the day.

"A more complete failure of sixty years' systematic agitation, it is difficult to conceive," says a London journal over Mr. Buxton's proofs.—God grant that American Abolition may not have so protracted a history of disaster to be recorded.

As the British Abolitionists have made so great a mistake in their mode of abolishing the slave trade, it is possible they have also made a mistake in their mode of abolishing slavery. It is to be hoped that our American Abolitionists will profit by the scene and prospects thus laid open.

It is discovered, at last, by Mr. Buxton, that great and comprehensive measures only, having a regard to the recognised rights and interests of all parties, can be effectual in suppressing the slave trade; and that an isolated effort, without regard to consequences, may do infinitely more hurt than good. But the measures of the Abolitionists of this country are in direct contravention to this rule. "Do evil that good may come," is their only authority; and that, too, when it is very unlikely that good *will* come.

By Mr. Buxton's facts and reasonings, the principles and system of the American Colonization Society, are proved conservative to general society, and the only effective mode for the abolition of the slave trade. By the same authority, the Abolition principles and measures of this country are proved destructive to society, the greatest impediments in the way of abolition, and the very bulwark of the slave trade and slavery, by their tendency to perpetuate, increase, and aggravate both.

COLONIZATION strikes at the slave trade, the root of the tree. ABOLITION nibbles, like a worm, at the ends of the branches, at the hazard of being shaken off into an uncomfortable and despairing plight.

ABOLITION repudiates responsibility for the disastrous consequences of its measures. In the same manner he is innocent who applies a lighted match to a powder magazine, to the peril of the lives and wealth of mankind.

A CRISIS IMPENDING.

THE American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions evinced their sagacity in assuming the permanence and growth of Liberia, and its future ascendancy over the regions and tribes round about, "*as unquestionable facts*," for the framing of their own future measures in that quarter. It is, doubtless, a settled question. We may go farther, without being liable to the charge of extravagance, and assume, that that new republic will, in a brief period, become the most important, enterprising, and efficient government on the Continent of Africa; that it will rapidly extend its jurisdiction, influence, and sway, to absorb the native tribes, to develop the physical resources and capabilities of Africa, and to command the richest and most productive commerce of the Continent. The very constitution of their government and society secures to them this pre-eminent advantage. There is no other

civilized community in Africa that is free, and that sets up the African as a man to govern himself. All the rest are either under an arbitrary despotism, or mere colonies of remote powers that will of course govern them for their own advantage. Consequently, they will have no chance of competition with this infant empire, which summons the African at once to freedom and self-government, calls into action all his powers, and secures to him the reward of his ambition and the control of his own destiny, in possession of all the advantages of civilization.

Let, then, the following facts and suggestions be observed. First, that nation which maintains a close connexion and intimate alliance with Liberia, will be likely to command the most important portions of the commerce of Africa. Secondly, it is impossible to read Mr. Buxton's book, and not be convinced, that this commerce will be of great value to any nation—the richest and most extensive in the world that is yet unopened. Thirdly, the same authority will show, that this commerce may be easily and soon opened, by the application of the right policy. Fourthly, it will also be apparent, through the same medium, that the British government at this moment has its eye upon Africa, to monopolize these stupendous advantages. Fifthly, such a design is accordant with the general policy and with the interests of the British empire. Sixthly, we are advised by Mr. Buxton, that some great project of this kind has actually been submitted to that government. Seventhly, on this point Mr. Buxton has cautiously maintained great reserve: "Upon consideration," he says, "it appeared, that a *premature* disclosure of these suggestions would be *inconvenient*." Again: "I am of opinion, that the time *has not yet come*, when it would be expedient to publish the measures in detail... These views have been communicated to her Majesty's government." Eighthly, the British government are as well aware of the importance of Liberia, as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, though their purposes are widely different. Ninthly, they know also, that the commonwealth of Liberia has no protection for her commerce, and no recognised flag; and that it is impossible for it long to dispense with such protection. Tenthly, there is no law to forbid the British government to offer it, and to receive the Commonwealth under its wing as a British colony. Eleventhly, it would be a strong temptation to those colonies to accept such an offer, unless we, Americans, can so manage, either to assume that office, as a nation; or else, by our active patronage, and efficient aid, in the forms heretofore pursued, we can put them forward with such rapidity, as to secure their recognition at an early period, as an independent and sovereign state.

We, therefore, feel warranted to announce this crisis as not very remote, and to say, that it now becomes a question of deep and momentous national concern. Who does not see, that, to be superseded in our claims and influence there, is to be cut off from one of the most affluent commercial prospects that ever opened upon us as a

nation; and next—the most important consideration of all—to have the great safety-valve of our domestic slave question fastened down upon us, to the peril of being blown up? Such is the crisis to which we are rapidly hastening, in regard to our connexion with the commonwealth of Liberia.

That commonwealth is *ours*, as having been planted and established by us; it is *ours*, as being allied to us by mutual affection, by sympathy, and by interests of great value and of momentous consequence; and it may be *ours* forever, for all the purposes which we could desire, if we extend to it that fostering and protecting care, which its infant and orphan condition so necessarily require, and which, if we cannot render in our national capacity, we can yet bestow under the present system.

The case is clearly before us, and makes its urgent appeals, as well to the best affections and sympathies, as to the most important interests of this whole nation. Help and protection *they must* have from some quarter; and if for a moment we suppose ourselves in their situation, we could hardly hesitate to accept the proffered bounty and care of the British nation, if we were compelled to despair of it from our mother country. Since, therefore, it seems to be decided—at least for the present—that our national government will not go into action upon this subject, so far as to render the requisite assistance; and since there is a system of patronage and care already established, which has the confidence of the public, and which can do that which is most necessary, till higher aid shall come to their assistance, or till their independence shall be declared and recognised, let the rich and wealthy of the land come forward to this great exigency, and all ranks of the people, according to their ability, and according to their sense of the claims and importance of the cause.

Somewhat more than *one million* of dollars is annually contributed to the various benevolent societies of our country; and yet the Colonization Society, which combines most of their objects—and which, perhaps, is more important than all of them put together—is compelled to take rank in class No. 9 of these institutions, as to the proportion of aid it receives from the public. And several of these more favoured societies are receiving two, three, four, and some of them five times the amount bestowed on Colonization. If the government of this country should from this moment appropriate several millions a year to this cause, it would be no more than commensurate with our national interest therein. On the single colony of Sierra Leone, the British government expended \$25,000,000 between 1792 and 1830; in all down to this time, probably about \$35,000,000. Could such munificence, if it should be tendered, be despised by the commonwealth of Liberia, in connexion with the advantages of such protection as they would enjoy, and with the additional motive of being part and parcel of the most powerful and most influential empire in the world? Will it not be a strong

temptation for the British government to make the offer, if the door should be left open by us, knowing as they do the paramount importance of Liberia to their pending project in regard to Africa?

From 1820, the beginning of Colonization in Liberia, to 1834, the sum of the contributions to the Colonization cause was only \$295,000! Since that time they have perhaps averaged about \$50,000 a year—in all \$545,000. But what is this for so stupendous an undertaking, in which our whole nation, Africa with her 100,000,000, and so many vast, political, social, and commercial interests, are concerned? Is it not a libel on the generosity of the American people, and on the wisdom and justice of our republic, that it should abandon such a cause to mere charity?

It is proper, perhaps, here to notice, that the Hon. John Quincy Adams has thought proper to sound an alarm, in view of the fact, that an association of gentlemen in the United States should exercise such anomalous powers, as to hold jurisdiction over a foreign colony, and endow it with the high prerogatives of a state. But the comfort and safety of this alarming fact is, that this association will be very happy at any time to resign their responsibilities and task to the government of the United States; and their prayer is, that the government will please to assume them. The second article of the constitution of the American Colonization Society, is tantamount to an oath of allegiance to our national and state authorities, and necessarily involves the principle of subjection to their will.

THE GOLD OF AFRICA.

CAPTAIN Sudbury, of the British navy, received a consignment of gold dust, worth \$60,000, a present from an African prince whom he had liberated from slavery. Solid lumps of gold ornament the persons of the Cabooccers, at the court of the king of Ashantee. On state occasions, great men so load their wrists with these lumps, that they are obliged to support them on the heads of boys. Mrs. Lee saw one lump at Cape Coast, which weighed fourteen ounces, very pure. Much gold, and the richest of Africa, comes from Gaman. The exports of Soudan consist principally in gold dust, in rings of exquisite workmanship, made at Sinnie, in twisted rings of Wingara, bars of gold, &c.—(*Buxton*.) An African prince, being sold to a slaver, disclosed masses of gold under his hair, which he offered for his ransom, not thinking that the gold would be taken, and his offer disregarded. He committed suicide in his despair.

REORGANIZATION.

THE REORGANIZATION of the American Colonization Society, and of the commonwealth of Liberia, which was effected in January, 1839, is an important event. It has given new life to the affairs of the society at home, and fresh dignity, importance, and vigour to the government of the colonies. An effort is now being made to wean the colonists from too much dependence, and to throw them upon their own resources and

powers—which, it is expected, will at the same time abridge expense, and call forth the moral and physical energies of the people into more vigorous and efficient action, for private and public good. It is deemed essential to a free people, that they should nourish the spirit of personal independence and self-reliance. It is also important, that all the benevolent contributions to this enterprise, should be so appropriated as to effect the greatest amount of good.

TWENTY REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF LIBERIA.

1. THE African is there placed in a new and most favourable position—the very position which calls forth the energies of man, makes him respect himself, and causes him to be respected.

2. The enterprise has the favour, and will realize the aid of the civilized world—especially of the people of the United States.

3. It has the benefit of the greatest wisdom and most eminent virtue of this country to guide its counsels and to sustain its interests.

4. Common and universal education is made a leading object.

5. They are a very moral and religious people.

6. The political and civil polity of Liberia is securely established, in successful operation, and modelled after the best of English and American law.

7. The design of this enterprise is to develop *African* character, and to give full scope to its action, independent of the rivalry of the European race.

8. This great and single aim will be prosecuted, as we trust, with increased vigour, by the patrons of this cause in the United States.

9. It will be seen, therefore, that the fatal impediment to the improvement and elevation of the African race, which European superiority has so long interposed in the juxtaposition of the two races, is for once, and at last, out of the way, in this interesting experiment.

10. Their past success and present prospects are sufficiently auspicious to augur a successful and triumphant result.

11. The commonwealth of Liberia imbodyes all and the very elements essential to its success. They are a people living and working for themselves and their posterity, with a sense of the importance of their privileges, and the value of their hopes.

12. The very smallness of their beginning, and the difficulties they have encountered, instead of being a discouragement, are an earnest and the security of their ultimate success.

13. The success of this undertaking, under *American* counsels and patronage, is indispensable to our domestic tranquillity and future prosperity, as a nation.

14. Africa, after all, is one of the richest and best countries in the world, and Liberia may now be regarded as the eye and key of the continent, on the West.

15. The natives *cannot* oppose, and the civilized world *will* not.

16. They are secure of the increase of their

numbers and of the extension of their jurisdiction, indefinitely, by emigration from the United States, and by the incorporation of native tribes.

17. The United States and Great Britain will be rival competitors for their commerce, and are likely to be so as patrons and guardians.

18. Religion and philanthropy are both combined in their behalf.

19. The Christian world will feel the debt they owe to Africa, for the wrongs they have done her, long enough, at least, to attain this great end.

20. The civilization of Africa is indispensable to important political and commercial interests of the civilized world.

EXTRACTS IN EVIDENCE.

“THE slave trade will cease, as the colony progresses, and extends its settlements. The very spot where now exists a free people, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves. This fact alone is entitled to consideration, and ought to rouse the friends of humanity everywhere. The importance of this colony, as regards the native tribes of the coast, is, in my estimation, great. They already begin to see, that it is civilization, and the blessings of religion, which give superiority to man over his fellow-man,” &c.—*Captain Nicholson, U. S. Navy.*

“Wherever the influence of this colony extends, the slave trade has been abandoned by the natives, and the peaceful fruits of legitimate commerce established in its place.”—*A London paper.*

“The importance of this settlement is daily developing itself, in various ways, and is always felt as a refuge of security and hospitality, both to the oppressed natives and to the shipwrecked mariner.”—*Capt. Voorhes, U. S. Navy.*

“They (the colonists) considered that they had started into new existence; felt proud of their attitude; and seemed conscious, that while they were founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers. I was pleased to observe, that they were impressed with the importance of education, not only for their own children, but for those of the natives. That there are many vast resources yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can doubt; and that they will soon be brought forth and made available by the enterprise and intelligence of the colonists, is equally unquestionable.”—*Capt. Kennedy, U. S. Navy.*

“The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous; and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. The complete success of this colony is a proof, that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race; and that the melioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical.”—*A British Naval Officer.*

“Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance, in every respect, of the people, over their coloured brethren in America. . . I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane oath uttered by any one. . . I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. . . Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property.”—*Capt. Abels, Emigrant ship.*

"No white people are permitted to reside in the colony for the purpose of trade, or for pursuing any mechanical business, such being intended for the exclusive benefit of coloured people. The Court holds its sessions on the first Monday of every month, and its jurisdiction extends over the whole colony. Jurors are empanelled as with us. To the honour of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanour in three years. Two native kings have put themselves and their subjects (supposed to amount to 10,000) under the protection of the colony. There is much hospitality at Monrovia, and among the inhabitants a greater proportion of moral and religious character than in this city, (Philadelphia.) Dr. Mecklin assured me, that the bills of mortality would show a less proportion of deaths than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.—*Capt. Sherman, of the ship Liberia.*

The following is from the evidence of Mr. Devany, High Sheriff of Liberia, taken by a committee of Congress:

"A very active trade is carried on at Monrovia. A colonist by the name of Waring, will have sold this year (1830) to the amount of \$70,000. Mr. Devany's sales amounted to between 24 and \$25,000. He (Mr. Devany) computed his property at \$20,000—had been in Liberia seven years, and had little property when he went... Mr. Devany had travelled up the St. Paul's river, till he came to a series of falls, extending ten or twelve miles, in which place the water falls perpendicularly twenty, thirty, and fifty feet... They gave the master of one of their schools a salary of \$450. This he did not consider sufficient, and engaged in business as public surveyor. No white persons admitted as residents, except public teachers and clergymen. Much activity and emulation prevail—each endeavouring to push his own fortune, and have the best house... No instance of capital crime among the colonists had yet occurred. He knew only two intemperate persons. Several of the neighbouring tribes had voluntarily put themselves under the laws of the colony, and sought its protection... The average range of the thermometer throughout the year is from 68 to 88—never down to 60—rarely up to 90—[no frost]—a constant sea-breeze."—*Sheriff Devany.*

"The youth of the colonies discover an eager desire for improvement; and their progress, considering their opportunities, is almost incredible. Among the young men of Monrovia, there is a larger proportion of good accountants and elegant penmen, than in any town (American) of his acquaintance."—*Gov. Buchanan.*

At a public meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, Sept. 29th, 1836, it was—"Resolved, that this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the Colonization Society have done for the people of colour, and for us particularly; that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of colour; that we believe it the only institution that can, in existing circumstances, succeed in elevating the coloured people; and that advancement in agriculture, mechanism, and science, will enable us speedily to aspire to a rank with other nations of the earth." The following sentiment was moved on this occasion, and carried with acclamation: "Success to the wheels of Colonization. May they roll over every opposer; and roll on, till all the oppressed sons of Africa shall be rolled home!"

From Governor Matthias: "The climate, with the exception of the acclimating process, is the

finest imaginable. There is scarcely any variation in the temperature. It is now the 24th of December; the birds are singing; a greater variety of song or plumage I never heard or saw; and nature, the year round, wears the livery of freshness and life. Our colony (Bassa Cove) is gradually assuming the state and consequence of an organized government. Could you be present at our Courts of justice, our military exercises, the transaction of business by our merchants, &c., you would lose sight of colour, &c., and believe fully, from fair experiment, that the mind of a coloured man, when untrammelled, is as good as a white man's. *Write: this is the land for the coloured man. He can be comfortable and happy here.*"

After reciting a variety of proofs of the happy influence of the missionary establishments among the natives, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Bangs, of New York, the Rev. Mr. Seys adds: "Away, then, with the notion, that Colonization does nothing for the native African;" and presents the following incident: "Among the native converts of the school is a lad, named Nathan Bangs, the son of an African prince. The father came to see his boy. Both being missing, it was discovered that the boy had secretly taken his father to the chamber, and was pleading, with tears in his eyes, that he would look to the American's God, and secure the salvation of his soul."

Dr. Turk, United States Navy, says, "I visited Monrovia in February, some years since, in a U. S. frigate. We were received by some of the leading men of the town, and conducted to the house of the governor. Our chaplain, a marine officer, and myself, accepted an invitation to attend public worship, when, upon repairing to the place, we found the church filled. The front seat was reserved for us. Our chaplain entered the pulpit with one of their ministers, who, after prayer and singing, made a very appropriate address. When the psalm was given out, a book was handed to me open at the proper place. The singing was very fine. I was much interested in a female voice, which poured forth some of the sweetest tones I almost ever heard. A more orderly, attentive, and apparently pious congregation, I never met with—all decently, and some handsomely dressed. When I looked round upon this large, and truly solemn assembly, and reflected upon what they had been, and what they are now, a society of civilized and Christianized freemen on the shores of Africa, worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience, governed by their own laws, my feelings were overpowered, and I secretly thanked God that so much was done for elevating the long depressed and afflicted African. I was invited by one of their most influential and respectable inhabitants to call at his house. I found his residence to be very comfortable; a pale fence before the door, inside of which stood a coffee tree, answering for shade and fruit. I was conducted into a room well furnished with a mahogany side-board, &c. In this room sat the wife and daughter of the proprietor of the house. Wine, cake, and other refreshments were soon placed before me in handsome style. I asked the mother if she was happy in her present condition, when she replied, that she was not only satisfied, but delighted. She dwelt with much feeling on the advantages enjoyed by the coloured people in Africa, and thanked God and the Colonization Society for their present independent and happy lot."

It was well observed by an English authority: "It matters not on which side of the Atlantic

the negro is made enlightened, virtuous, and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it *does* matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is only *one* where he will be happy and respectable, as benevolence would wish to see him; and certainly *there* a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed."

GOOD OUT OF EVIL.

It has been a subject of regret, that Abolition has so much prejudiced the coloured people of the North against Colonization. After all, it may be a question, whether this fact will not operate for the good of the commonwealth of Liberia. In the first place, this opposition has forced the enterprise through a fiery and perhaps profitable ordeal, from which it is gradually emerging in triumph. Next, it would seem quite probable, that it may be better and safer for the colonies in their early history, to be supplied principally from the South, as the coloured people there have been in the habits of subordination, and are generally of a better character. The character of the first emigrants is of the greatest importance. It seems to be decided, that the disposition to emancipate, alone, is likely much to exceed the means of transfer. There must of necessity be a reaction at the North, and the coloured people here, when once they shall have discovered how they have been deceived, will be thankful to be *admitted* into the commonwealth of Liberia.

APPROBATION OF HIGH AUTHORITIES.

COLONIZATION has been approved in this country by formal resolutions, after full discussion, in the following public bodies, political and ecclesiastical: By Congress repeatedly; by the legislatures of Tennessee, of Maryland, Connecticut, New Jersey, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New York, Delaware, Ohio, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Louisiana. Several of these states have acted upon it repeatedly, and Maryland has appropriated \$20,000 annually for ten years. Nearly all denominations of Christians in the country, in their higher and minor ecclesiastical assemblies, have given it their distinct approval, and continue so to do—of which we might name Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, Moravians, and Friends. And when we look at the names of the officers and members of the Parent Society, and its auxiliaries, we find the most eminent talent and worth of the nation enlisted in the cause, and pledged to its support. To be assured of the moral influence of such a phalanx, and of their growing affection for the enterprise, is enough to inspire confidence in its wisdom and importance.

For a little period the interests of Colonization seemed to flag. Many, perhaps, were influenced by the outcries of Abolition; some imagined the society was languishing for want of merit in the cause; and the great mass thought little about it. But within a year Colonization has started up to new life and vigour; the society and the commonwealth of Liberia have been reorganized; thousands of the most influential men in the land are waking up to the vast importance of the cause; they see it is a grand national interest—a humane, philanthropic, Christian enterprise—having equally in view the good of our own country, the good of Africa, and of the African race. The proofs of this character are now overwhelming. The cause is stupendous, and is beginning to be appreciated.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

THE civilizing influence of missions on the commonwealth of Liberia and the surrounding native tribes, is an important fact. Nearly all

the foreign missionary societies of our country find the field open to them there, and are already at work in it. It may be calculated, perhaps, that their influence is as great as that of the civil establishment, and both are mutual auxiliaries. A missionary is called by the natives "a God man," and his pacific, religious character is generally appreciated. Missionaries can set up establishments of education and religion among the native barbarians with safety and great effect.

A REMARKABLE FACT.

THE Abolitionists have republished a *part* of Mr. Buxton's late work, and are passing it off for a *true copy*. The *whole* of the SECOND PART, which comprehends the very *purpose* of the work, viz., the proposal of a *remedy* for the bad working of the old system, by the adoption of COLONIZATION principles, is *suppressed*! Also, other detached portions which lead to the development of this scheme. The *horrible* part of Mr. Buxton's tale was too tempting an aliment for the tastes of Abolition, to be lost; but the *cure* they choose to have in their own way. We doubt not, there will be a loud call for a true copy of the book. And we beg leave to suggest the importance of an *Expository Introduction* by some one who will appreciate the peculiar, critical, and delicate position of the author in this effort; and show why he did not make all the revelations which he *would*; but only what he *could*, without sacrificing his influence in a quarter where it was important to be maintained.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE?

THE Hon. John Tyler, President of the Virginia Colonization Society, said, in a speech delivered at the annual meeting of that institution, in 1838, "to appeal to Congress for aid, is to appeal to a body having no power to grant it." At present, no reliance can be placed upon that source; and the cause, vast and important as it is, for political as well as philanthropic purposes, rests principally on the basis of voluntary contributions. It is a cause, however, which can be appreciated as identified with the dearest and most valuable interests of our country, as well as with the objects of humanity, and the benevolent designs of Christian effort. It must also be seen, that it is an undertaking sufficiently great for the care and treasury of a nation. But since the nation, as such, cannot assume these responsibilities and this burden; and since it is seen and acknowledged to be a national object, indispensable to the peace of the country, and peradventure to its prosperity, may it not reasonably be expected, that the public, rich and poor, according to their ability, will make it a matter of *principle* to pledge themselves to a regular, annual contribution to this cause, so long as it may seem to require it? Unless a systematic effort of this kind can be established it is obvious, that the wheels of this enterprise must drag heavily, and possibly come to a dead stand; or that its wants will furnish an apology for those colonies to alienate their relations from this country, and transfer them to a power that will better appreciate their importance for political and commercial purposes, and afford them the necessary aid and protection. We do not think that the alternative of *failure* can now be predicated on any reasonable grounds. That commonwealth will be a prize of inestimable value to any nation that shall have the most intimate relations therewith. At present it is bound to us as its parent, and will not break away unless we give them reasons of neglect, and the alternative of necessity.

The urgent necessities of this cause, and the indispensable importance of having some more secure reliance than the fickleness of common charity, have compelled its managers to make an appeal to the American people for a systematic effort in the way of pledging, as a common standard for individuals, *ten dollars a year for ten years*. What citizen of this republic, in ordinary prosperity, is not able to do this, without feeling it a burden? *Twenty thousand* names would give \$200,000 a year; *fifty thousand* would give half a million; and a hundred thousand would give a million annually. And who does not see, if there be any sobriety in the facts and considerations brought forward in these pages, that *one million a year* to this cause would be trifling compared with its importance to our own country, not to speak of motives of philanthropy? And not to notice that other momentous consideration, viz., its importance as a safety-valve to our domestic slave question, it is reasonable to expect that the commercial advantages thus appropriated and secured to ourselves, would pay us back a manifold principal and interest for all these expenditures, before half a generation shall have gone from the stage; and in the end, the cause will sustain itself, and the colonies become an independent and prosperous republic. Many of the more wealthy patrons of this enterprise will, doubtless, give \$100 annually for ten years; and this example, in numerous instances, has already been made. This appears to be the only system on which the cause may securely rest, as *American*, till the states and nation shall take it under their own charge, if ever a sufficient unanimity shall warrant it.

We have before stated, that the sum of contributions to this cause, from 1820 to 1834, a period of fourteen years, was only \$295,000; and that the average of contributions from 1831 might probably amount to \$50,000 a year. We have since ascertained, that the sum of contributions to the Parent Society, from 1834 to 1838 inclusive, is as follows: For 1834, \$22,864; for 1835, \$37,049; for 1836, \$32,963; for 1837, \$25,270; for 1838, \$11,394; in all \$129,540. If we add to this the \$20,000 a year from the State of Maryland, and other items furnished by some two or three state societies, in their independent action, of which we have no account, it would seem probable, that our conjectural estimate for the time since 1834, was not far from the truth; and that the sum of all the contributions to Colonization, from the beginning down to 1839, would not be much in excess of half a million of dollars. Of course, we do not take into this account the property surrendered by emancipation, and the provisions made by their masters to establish the liberated slaves in Liberia, together with sundry other endowments and bequests in connexion with these acts of emancipation. These have been exhibited in another place.

Other slave states besides Maryland, particularly Virginia and Tennessee, had ordered some generous appropriations to Colonization, which have been withholden in consequence of the Abolition agitation of the North. These and other slave states will, doubtless, come up to this work, when they shall be satisfied that Colonization and Abolition have been identified without cause. It is equally erroneous and unjust for the South to be jealous of Colonization as being allied to Abolition, as for Abolition to oppose Colonization as being allied to the slaveholding interests of the South. Both are equally false; for Colonization has nothing to do with either; and yet its doom has been to fall under the ban of

both. Doubtless the public, both at the North and South, will by-and-by get to understand the truth of the case, and be able to trace the boundary line of Colonization just where its declared principles and objects necessarily define it. It is enough for Colonization that it is doing the work assigned and accredited to it in these pages, and that it is equally innocent of the charges brought against it by the Abolition of the North (which we have before demonstrated) and by the slaveholding interests of the South.

It should not be forgotten by those who take an interest in the commonwealth of Liberia, that lyceums, academies, colleges, and libraries are to be founded, endowed, built, and furnished. Are there not some among our wealthy citizens, who would feel a satisfaction and a pride in having their names inscribed on the face of such institutions as founders and benefactors? Are there none among us, whose hearts will incline them to any other acts of beneficence, in some specific channels, and towards specific objects, of their own choice? Shall we not, as a Christian people, having undertaken so great and so good a work, and carried it on to such hopefulness as now dawns upon its prospects, convince that interesting people, by the constant and increasing flow of our bounty towards them, that they live in our affections, in our sympathies, and in our prayers for their welfare, and thus bind them to us and ourselves to them by ties never to be dissolved?

ANCIENT AFRICA.

"It was during the 18th dynasty of Egyptian kings that the first colonization of Greece took place. *Three steps* lead us from Athens, through Rome, to the institutions of England."—(*Foreign Quarterly*.) Europe, then, owes its civilization to Africa; America, to Europe. To complete the circle and discharge the debt, it remains for Europe and America to re-establish the civilization of Africa. With the Africans, civilization, in its higher forms, originated; to them may be traced the great events which led to the social well-being of the civilized world—to the establishment of the whole frame-work of political mechanism, which is necessary to give motion, steadiness, and permanence to the social machine.

It seems to be established by recent discoveries, that so far are we, moderns, from having made any extraordinary advance in arts, contributing to the splendour or comfort of society, we have yet to recover many of great importance, known to the ancient Africans. Not the slightest improvement has been made in the tasteful forms, or exquisite finish, of household furniture, to this day; and the whole process of manufacturing silk and cotton, with all its details of carding, spinning, reeling, weaving, dyeing, and patterning, owes its origin to Africans.

While Carthage and Thebes are remembered; while the monuments of Africa's ancient grandeur tower to heaven amidst her desert sands; while her forgotten arts stand chiselled in the eternal rocks; while her mummies are pirated from her tombs to be displayed in the museums of Europe and America; while the renown of her Pharaohs is proclaimed in Holy Writ; while the names of Hannibal, Hanno, Jugurtha, Terence, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, and Cyprian, are prominent in history; while Ethiopia looks out from behind the clouds of antiquity, beaming with the splendours of civilization; and while the god Budha, an African, of the negro race, in all his parts and features, is worshipped by 200 millions of the human race, of another species, the world must yet have some reverence for such a people.

